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[For the role of the guapo in Yanoama society and his interaction with the community, see category 554.]

621 613 602 591 full brothers and constitute a local descent group by virtue of their co-residence.

602 613 561 594 527 554 571 622 The relationship of age differential between agnates and the strength of the agnatic tie can be illustrated by Kɐobawë's relationships to the men in his descent group. Two of them are much young than he (Shadadama, 22; Shararaiwë, 18). Whenever Kɐobawë organizes a feast, these two young men do much of the laborious work of preparing the food and cooking it, going on the 5-7 day hunt to obtain the meat, and making the bark trough to contain the cooked food. Another agnate, Nadesiwë, 45 years old, does nothing to assist in the preparations for feasts. He is about 5 years older than Kɐobawë. The two remaining agnates, Rapeawë, 45, and Shiimima, 28, each participate to a very limited degree in the work. Shiimima, the younger of these two, does more work than the other, and usually takes charge of the hunting and directs the labors of the two youngest men in preparing the food. The two youngest agnates, however, do more work than all of the older ones put together. They, in turn, do even less work than Kɐobawë's adopted son, a Shamatari boy of 16 years. A great deal of the work is done by Kɐobawë's nephew, Bëkotawë, 18 years old.

622 602 613 561 123 554 571 Kɐobawë's ability to command his agnates to execute tasks varies inversely with the ages of these men. Once Shiimima took my flashlight. I discovered by devious means who the culprit was, and asked Kɐobawë to have Shiimima return it to me, presuming that he could order him to do so.

622 Several days went by and I still did not have the item, so I
602
618 asked Kaobawë what he had done about it. He said he had
561 spoken to Shiimima, but the matter then rested with him: "He
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554 will give it to you if it is his desire to do so." I ulti-
571 mately had to resort to my own means to recover the flash-
light, as Kaobawë could not force Shiimima to return it.
When I questioned Kaobawë about this ineffectiveness, he
explained: "Shiimima is already fierce and I can not order
him around." Thus, while he could command his youngest
siblings to do things, he had to rely on example and suggestion
622 to get older agnates to do the same things. Before every
613
602 feast, for example, the village clearing is cleaned by scrap-
529 ing up the weeds and debris that accumulate, and hauling them
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351 out of the village. As the younger agnates are busy prepar-
554 ing the food for the feast, they can not clean the clearing.
591
561 Kaobawë usually goes to the center of the village and begins
cleaning up the debris himself. After a while, his older
agnates join him, and perhaps their spouses as well. They
would be inclined, however, to refuse to do the work if
Kaobawë requested them to do it, for acquiescence in this
regard implies that one is being bossed around.

*621 Within a local descent group, therefore, the relative
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602 age of the agnates is crucial to the solidarity of the group
561 and the effectiveness of its leadership. If the father of
593 a group of brothers is alive, he will be the leader, and the
602
613 group functions quite smoothly. When he dies, however, the
solidarity and strength of the group diminishes, as adult

*628 Lower Bisaasi-tedi gave its members refuge during the times
[602] when the Monou-tedi were threatened by raids from the Patanowë-
tedi. The closest neighbor, geographically, to Lower Bisaasi-
[361] tedi is Upper Bisaasi-tedi (a mere 400 meters upstream), the
[613] dominant political group of that village being a segment of
the Sha lineage. The two villages, however, behave quite in-
dependently in their alliance patterns. Lower Bisaasi-tedi's
political interests are in the Mõmaribõwei-tedi at the present
time, whereas Upper Bisaasi-tedi's interests are in the
*628 Reyabobõwei-tedi, Karohi-tedi, and Widokaiya-tedi. In the
726 war against the Patanowë-tedi, both the Lower and Upper
Bisaasi-tedi aid the Monou-tedi by providing warriors for the
raiding parties, and by giving refuge to the Monou-tedi when
raiding is particularly intense.

*621 Lower Bisaasi-tedi is a cohesive, well-integrated,
162 stable village. Much of the stability and cohesiveness de-
562
• 571 rives from the fact that there is not a shortage of women and
there are well-defined patterns of behavior for all members
*628 vis-à-vis others. But, Lower Bisaasi-tedi is not a militarily
722 viable group. It could not last long as an independent vil-
lage if the warfare situation became intense; the group is not
completely independent of the Upper Bisaasi-tedi village. At
least once during my field work the Lower Bisaasi-tedi group
coalesced with the Upper group when a raid from the Patanowë-
tedi seemed imminent. And, if raiding from the Patanowë-tedi
began, the group would have to merge with Upper Bisaasi-tedi
for defense purposes. When I began my field work in 1964,

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of other villages—such alliances are stabilized by exchanges of women between the partners, a breach of the prescriptive marriage rules. It is for this reason that such a large discrepancy exists between the ideal behavior and the actual practice, as noted in Table 2.[18]

Division of Labor and Daily Social Life

The daily activities and general social life are not as circumscribed by rules and regulations as would appear from the foregoing discussion. In fact, one first has the impression that chaos rather than order reigns over the daily activities of the village members![19] Thus, while ideal rules about behavior definitely exist, individuals have a great deal of freedom to manipulate their behavior in such a way that they are not unduly encumbered by them. Most of the run-of-the-mill activities of daily life are not characterized by inflexible prescriptions regarding proper behavior.

MALE-FEMALE DIVISION There are a number of distinctions based on status differences that are important in daily life. Perhaps the most conspicuous and most important is the distinction between males and females.

Yąnomamö society is decidedly masculine. As was discussed earlier, there is a definite preference to have male children, resulting in a higher incidence of female infanticide as opposed to male infanticide. Female children assume duties and responsibilities in the household long before their brothers are obliged to participate in useful domestic tasks. For the most part, little girls are obliged to tend their younger brothers and sisters, although they are also expected to help their mothers in other chores such as cooking, hauling water, and collecting firewood. By the time girls have reached puberty they have already learned that their world is decidedly less attractive than that of their brothers.

As members of local descent groups, girls have almost no voice in the decisions reached by their agnates concerning their marriage. They are largely pawns to be disposed of by their kinsmen, and their wishes are given very little consideration. In many cases, the girl has been promised to a man long before she reaches puberty, and in some cases her husband actually raises her for part of her childhood. In short, they do not participate as equals in the political affairs of the corporate kinship group and seem to inherit most of the duties without enjoying many of the privileges.

Marriage does not enhance the status of the girl, for her duties as wife require her to assume difficult and laborious tasks too menial to be executed by the men. For the most part these include the incessant demands for firewood and drinking water, particularly the former. Women spend several hours each day scouring the neighborhood

[18] Reducing kinship usage to the logical extremes to which the Yąnomamö take it, there really is no discrepancy between theory and practice, except in the case of incest. When new villages enter into contact for the first time, their respective headmen call each other *shoriwä* (brother-in-law). The first exchanges between the groups usually involve the children of these men. The children, of course, stand in marriageable relationship to each other because the children of brothers-in-law can, by the prescriptive definitions, marry.

[19] Many fieldworkers do not begin to see the patterns of behavior until they have spent months of intensive contact with their subjects. I was convinced, after five or six months, that there were almost no guidelines for behavior. A part of the difficulty resulted from the language barrier. The patterns began to emerge only after about six months, and only then could I begin asking pertinent questions about many features of social organization.

other when they are children and young men. As time passes and these men become old enough to seek wives, members of the groups to which they belong enter into competition with each other. The men themselves are under some pressure to display their personal autonomy, and they treat each other with considerable reserve as they get older. They cannot boss each other around or expect many favors from one another. Kaobawä, for example, cannot ask his adult brothers to perform menial tasks for him. This is because each man—particularly those men who compete for the same women—attempts to convince all others that he is capable of ferocity. The more remote the genealogical distance, the greater is the reserve with which mature agnates treat each other. That is, distant parallel cousins would behave toward each other with considerably more reserve than would actual brothers, although the men in question are all related to each other terminologically as brothers. If such men live in different villages, their mutual relationships are even more reserved when they meet.

The relationship between men who call each other brother-in-law, however, grows more intimate as the men get older. They can play and joke with each other, whereas agnates cannot, for they are not competitors and are not constrained to exhibit their fierceness to each other. They can cement their relationships to each other by merely promising to give their daughters to each other's sons. They can ask favors of each other, expecting them to be done without complaint.

Kaobawä's relationships to two men in his village illustrate the distinction between agnates and affines. Both men joined his group from the village of Patanowä-teri some time after Kaobawä's group separated from the village. One of the men, Nadeiwä, is related to him agnatically: they call each other "brother" because their fathers were half-brothers. Nadeiwä is in Kaobawä's local descent group, but is not quite on a par with the other members in the political affairs of the group. The other men in the group—Kaobawä and his closer brothers—put pressure on Nadeiwä to give his only daughter to a man in a distant Shamatari village for the purpose of stabilizing an alliance. This was a considerable sacrifice for him to make, as his daughter, after the completion of bride service, will have to live in her husband's village—Nadeiwä will have no coresident son-in-law to provide him with meat when he gets old. Kaobawä and Nadeiwä treat each other with respect and great reserve and do not ask each other for favors.

The other man, Kumanawä, is Bahimi's actual brother; Kaobawä is related to him, therefore, as an affine as well as by cognatic kinship ties. That is, they are first cross-cousins by blood and also related to each other by marriage. Kumanawä is a frequent visitor in Kaobawä's house and enthusiastically executes the numerous tasks that Kaobawä asks of him. They are members of different local descent groups, but their groups are related to each other by marriage exchanges that go back several generations. In short, Kaobawä's personal ties to his brother-in-law are warmer and friendlier than his relationship to one of the members of his own local descent group.

Daily Activities

Kaobawä's village is oval-shaped. His house is located among those of his agnatic kinsmen; they occupy a continuous arc along one side of the village. Each of the